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ART. XXI.—*On the Inscription of Khammurabi.* By H. F.  
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THE first portion of the volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions, recently published by the British Museum, contains an important series of legends of the early Babylonian kings. These are written in the Proto-Chaldean language, which as yet is little understood. I therefore heard with great interest that the Paris Museum possesses an inscription of one of these kings, Khammurabi, written in the Babylonian language, and that Messrs. Oppert and Ménant had presented a copy of it, together with a translation, to the British Museum. The accession of so ingenious a scholar as M. Ménant to the small band of Assyrian interpreters, is a subject of much congratulation, and in this instance he has certainly presented the world of letters with a valuable gift. I am indebted to my friend, W. H. Coxe, Esq., of the British Museum, for an accurate copy of this important document, and from it I have made the translation which I now beg leave to offer to the Society. It will be seen, that though agreeing with M. Ménant in many things, I differ from him considerably in some parts of the second column.

The language of this inscription is by no means so archaic as I expected to find it. In fact, except in greater simplicity of style, and shortness of lines, I do not see that it much differs from the language of Nebuchadnezzar's time. How far then must we recede into antiquity in order to find the beginnings of this Semitic tongue? Tiglath Pileser, in 1120 B.C., uses substantially the same language as Sennacherib and Sargon, and he seems to have been able to read the inscriptions of Ishmi-Dagon and others who lived at least 641 years before him.

COLUMN I.

1. Khammurabi	..	Khammurabi
2. sar danu	..	the great king
3. sar Babilu	..	the King of Babylon
4. sar mustisimi	..	the king who wears the crown of
5. kibrati arba im	..	the nations of the four quarters of the
		world

- |                      |    |                              |
|----------------------|----|------------------------------|
| 6. kasit saniti ..   | .. | the conqueror of the enemies |
| 7. Marduk: ..        | .. | of Marduk:                   |
| 8. ship mutib ..     | .. | the Monarch closely united   |
| 9. libbi-su anaku .. | .. | to his heart, I am he.       |

*Observations.*

*Mustisimi.* This participle seems to be another conjugation of *musim* or *musimmu*, crowning, or crowned: which comes from *sima* or *simat*, a crown.

*Im*, heaven: the sky. *Arba im*, the four quarters of the sky, the four cardinal points: an expression equivalent to "the whole world."

*Kasit*, conqueror: occurs frequently.

*Saniti*, enemies: from Heb. שׂוֹנִי to hate.

We find in other inscriptions *ir saniti*, the enemy's city.

Observe that Marduk is named in line 7 as the chief object of Babylonian worship in this king's reign. And so he continued to be for many centuries.

*Ship*. It is doubtful how this word was pronounced. It is a compound symbol formed of the syllables *pa. lu.* joined together. But as this was pronounced *ship* in the name of the city Borshippa or Borsippa, and elsewhere, I have adopted *provisionally* that pronunciation.

It also clearly denotes "a king" in the Proto-Chaldean inscriptions.

In the great inscription of Nabonidus, col. III, he refers to ancient inscriptions of one of these early kings, Shaga-saltias, whom he praises as having been *ship kinu, rubu nadu*, a glorious king and a noble prince.

The phrase *mutib*, or *mudib libbi-su*, occurs in several other inscriptions, always of a king beloved by his deity, or closely united in spirit with him.

*Mudib* means "joined." The first person singular *udib*, I joined, occurs in one of Sennacherib's inscriptions, *udibu bakhlati*, I joined together all the workmen, in order that by their united strength they might move one of the colossal bulls to Nineveh. This verb seems to be the Hebrew בָּרַךְ to join: or, to cleave to a thing; but the final guttural is lost in Assyrian.

*Libbi-su*. There is no certain distinction in this inscription between the syllables *su* and *ku*: both are written by the same symbol. The same thing occurs in several other inscriptions.

Thus, in the description of a palace, some inscriptions read *ita-su* (probably its *interior walls*), while others read *itaku*.

- |                          |    |    |                           |
|--------------------------|----|----|---------------------------|
| 10. Ninu Il u Bel        | .. | .. | The favour of God and Bel |
| 11. nisi Sumiriu..       | .. | .. | the people of Sumiri      |
| 12. u Akkadim ..         | .. | .. | and Akkadi                |
| 13. ana bellim iddinunu: | .. | .. | gave unto my dominion.    |
| 14. Tsirra gina ..       | .. | .. | Their celestial weapons   |
| 15. ana gati-ya ..       | .. | .. | into my hand              |
| 16. umallu ..            | .. | .. | they gave.                |

*Il*, "the god," *κατ' ἐξοχην*, i.e. Marduk. The same phrase is used in the Assyrian inscriptions found at Nineveh, but *there* it designates Ashur.

*Nisi*. This word is generally written *un*, followed by a plural sign. I suppose that *un* was the Proto-Chaldean word for "man." *Nisi* agrees with the usual Semitic term.

*Bellim*, command. This word is very frequent, especially in the phrase *ki bilim ili*, "by command of the gods." The king frequently boasts that the gods have lent him their own weapons. See Tiglath Pileser's inscription, &c.

*Tsirra*, supreme.

*Gina* or *zina*, weapons, is the Chald. *gin* גן armour, whence מַגֵּן armatus.

*Umallu*: properly, "they filled." Heb. מָלֵא implevit. "They fill'd my hand," with their heavenly or powerful arms.

- |                          |    |    |                                  |
|--------------------------|----|----|----------------------------------|
| 17. (nahal) Khammurabi   | .. | .. | The river Khammurabi             |
| 18. nukhu's nisi         | .. | .. | (so the people call it)          |
| 19. babilat mie kanik .. | .. | .. | a canal of mingled waters        |
| 20. ana nisi Sumirim ..  | .. | .. | for the use of the men of Sumiri |
| 21. u Akkadim            | .. | .. | and Akkadi                       |
| 22. lu-akhri ..          | .. | .. | I dug.                           |

The word Khammurabi in line 17 is preceded by the usual symbol for "running water." As this was *the-king's own name*, but here transferred to a river, or canal, the interposed observation, "so the people call it," *nisi nukhu-su*, comes quite naturally.

*Babilat*, M. Ménant renders this word "Babylonian." But this interpretation is quite set aside by the fact that Ashurakbal when he rebuilt Cakh dug a canal there, and says concerning it just what Khammurabi says here:—"I gave it the name of the *babilat kanik*."

I think it may be provisionally rendered "a canal of mingled waters," from Heb. בבל confusio. In fact, we learn from Sennacherib's inscription at Bamian, that he united the waters of no less than eighteen brooks to form a river at his palace near Nineveh.

23. kishadi-sha kilalin	..	Its banks, which had fallen in.
24. ana miri tur lu-utir	..	I restor'd to their former form.
25. karie ashnan	.. ..	With new walls, or mounds of earth
26. lu-astappak	.. ..	I heap'd them up.
27. Mie daruti	.. ..	Perennial waters
28. ana nisi Sumirim	..	for the use of the men of Sumiri
29. n Akkadim	.. ..	and Akkadi
30. lu-askun.	.. ..	I prepared.

*Kilalin*, broken through. Perhaps from Heb. חלל perforavit, solvit, aperuit: and also subvertit, destruxit. This word seems well applied to a break in an earthen dyke.

*Miri*, work, workmanship. This word is often used in Sennacherib's inscriptions.

*Tur*, old, ancient, former: as *Haikal tur suatu*, that old palace: that former palace.

*Karie* is often used in the great B. I. II. inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, as is also *astappak*, in the sense of heaping up mounds of earth for the defence of Babylon.

*Ashnan*, new: from Heb. שנה *shana*, in another conjugation, *shanana* renovare (Ges. 1025).

*Astappak* is the T conjugation of *shapak*, Heb. שפך *effudit*.

*Mie daruti*. See many other inscriptions. The kings prided themselves very much in bringing *perennial waters* into their chief cities.

#### COLUMN II.

1. [Un] Sumirim	.. ..	Of the tribes of Sumiri
2. u Akkadim	.. ..	and Akkadi
3. kali-sun, [un] pakhati	..	all of them, the chief people
4. lu-upakhir,	.. ..	I assembled together.

The word written *Un* [homines] was probably pronounced *Nisi*. Or perhaps the Semitic root נץ *populus* was employed to express it. This, however, being uncertain, I have left it as [Un] in the present passage.

*Kali-sim upakhir* is a frequent phrase, whenever a king assembles his *principal noblemen*, or his *vassal kings*. Compare the Esarhaddon inscription, I, 27 (B. M., pl. 45), where the king says, *upakhir sarin Khatti kali-sim*, I passed in review, or I assembled, the kings of Syria, all of them.

*Kali*. Heb. כל *omnis*.

*Upakhir*. Heb. בחר *examinare, probare*: here, to inspect or review.

*Pakhati*. Heb. פחה *pakha* *praefectus provinciae* (Gesenius). Here, *magistrates*: chief people. And so Bohlen, quoted by Gesenius, "*magnates*: *proceres*"—from a Persian root.

- |                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 5. <i>Mirita u maskita</i> .. ..    | With sights and shows             |
| 6. <i>lu-askun sina sim</i> .. ..   | I made amusement for them.        |
| 7. <i>Innut sirik u kanik</i> .. .. | With favours both great and small |
| 8. <i>lu-eri sinati</i> : .. ..     | I honour'd them :                 |
| 9. <i>subat nikhiti</i> .. ..       | and on seats of splendour         |
| 10. <i>lu-shasib sinati</i> .. ..   | I seated them.                    |

*Mirita*, sights: from the root *mar* to see, which occurs frequently in Assyrian.

*Maskita*, shows: is the Heb. *maskit* מַשְׁכִּית *imago, figura* (see Ges. 623) from the Chaldee root שָׁכַא *aspexit*.

*Sina*, ludus. This word means, most probably, amusement or diversion, from the Heb. *senina* שְׁנִינָה *ludibrium*. The root is שָׁנַן, from a simpler original root שָׁן *acuit*. *Ex. gr.* *acuit linguam* (Gesen.) to use sharp or witty sayings.

*Innut*, favours. Heb. *hin* חֵן *gratia*.

*Sirik* is probably Heb. צָרַח *clarus, manifestus*.

*Kanik* I have rendered "small." It seems to have that meaning in the Phillips Cylinder, III. 16, where we read (....) *si u kaniki*, which may mean *large and small* (offerings). It may be related to the Heb. כָּנַע *humilis fuit*.

*Kanik* is also a canal; but that meaning has no place here.

*Eri*. I think this verb may be the Heb. יָרָא *coluit, honoravit*.

*Nikhiti* is probably the same as *nukhuti*, from *nukhu* *splendor*, which I find in various passages of the inscriptions.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 11. <i>Ninumi-su</i> .. ..              | By his favor (viz., that of Marduk)         |
| 12. <i>Khammurabi</i> .. ..             | Khammurabi                                  |
| 13. <i>sar danu</i> .. ..               | the great king                              |
| 14. <i>migir il reb-reb anaku</i> .. .. | the worshipper of the supreme god,<br>I am. |

*Ninumi-su.* See Col. I, 10.

*Reb-reb*, a Chald. word רַב־רַב, occurs in Dan. 4, 33, &c.

- |                                |    |    |  |
|--------------------------------|----|----|--|
| 15. In emukin..                | .. | .. | According to the oracles                     |
| 16. gashrati ..                | .. | .. | infallible                                   |
| 17. sha Marduk iddinam         | .. | .. | which Marduk gave to me,                     |
| 18. Til tsiram ..              | .. | .. | a lofty citadel,                             |
| 19. in ebiri rabuti ..         | .. | .. | on a high bank,                              |
| 20. sha risha-sun ..           | .. | .. | whose summits                                |
| 21. kima ssatu im eli-ya       | .. | .. | tower'd like the vault of heaven<br>above me |
| 22. in resh (nahal) Khammurabi |    |    | on the bank of Khammurabi river              |
| 23. nukhu's nisi ..            | .. | .. | (as people call it)                          |
| 24. lu ebus. ..                | .. | .. | I built.                                     |

In Sargon's Cylinder, he says that he was commanded by infallible oracles to build a new city on the banks of a river.

*Emukin*, mysteries. Heb. עֵמֶק profundus.

*Gashrati*. Chal. כָּשֶׁר *kasher*, rectus, dignus. Perhaps translate, "the direct oracle."

*In resh* (of a river) is used in the Annals of Ashurakhbal to express "opposite the river," viz., the Euphrates: not "at its source," which was many hundred miles distant from the spot where he was then encamped.

- |                         |    |    |   |
|-------------------------|----|----|---|
| 25. Til suati ..        | .. | .. | That Citadel                                      |
| 26. Til ummu baniti ..  | .. | .. | "The Citadel of the mother who<br>bore me         |
| 27. abim alidi-ya ..    | .. | .. | and of the father who begot me"                   |
| 28. anaku lu-abbam. ..  | .. | .. | I named.  |
| 29. In Ri ummu banit    | .. | .. | In the holy name of Ri, the mother<br>who bore me |
| 30. abim pi alidi-ya .. | .. | .. | and of the father who begot me                    |
| 31. in kibrati ..       | .. | .. | during long ages                                  |
| 32. lu-shaib! ..        | .. | .. | may it last!                                      |

*Abim*. The final M or V seems to mean "and," so that *abim* may be rendered "*patrisque*."

By his "father and mother" the king means the god Marduk and the goddess Ri. The citadel probably bore the name "Castle of Marduk-Ri." Nebuchadnezzar in his great inscription says, that the god Marduk was his father, and the goddess Makh or Mah his mother.

The construction of lines 29, 30, appears to be *in pi*, in the holy name of. The phrase occurs frequently. Often a king prays to a god to take a new palace under his protection and says, *lishakin in pi-ka*, may it stand firm in thy holy name! The full phrase is, *in pi-ka illili*, in thy lofty or celestial name, which was not the same as that pronounced here on earth.

*In kibrati*, for long ages. From Heb. כִּבְרַי diuturnitas temporis (Gen. 464).

*Lu-shaib*, probably from Heb. יָשַׁב mansit.